# BRITISH ARMY AND COLONIAL FORTIFICATIONS IN NORTH TARANAKI, 1863–64

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*Abstract.* British Army and colonial fortifications in north Taranaki in the years after 1863 tell directly of the course and success of European military strategy in the region. The purpose of most fortifications of the period was to defend the expanding frontier of settlement, and give security to farmers who were returning to their farms or taking up confiscated land. The taking of Maori land and its settlement by men who enlisted for service in the province as Taranaki Military Settlers achieved the Pakeha objective of more land, and at the same time denied Maori the means of continuing the struggle. Twenty–one redoubts, stockades and blockhouses of the years 1863–64 are described in historical narrative order.

The March 1861 truce at the end of the First Taranaki War saw Maori forces in possession of 4000 acres of European farmland at Tataraimaka, while British troops held land at Waitara for which Pakeha had gone to war. A British Army garrison made up of detachments of the 57th Regiment stayed on in the isolated west coast province, supported by local militia and volunteer corps. The issues over which the war was fought were, however, quite unresolved. For European settlers – and Maori – everything revolved around the question of land.

The Second Taranaki War was initiated by Governor George Grey in autumn 1863, to resolve loose ends of the earlier campaign, and protect New Plymouth against a perceived threat from southern tribes. Grey wished to extricate himself from Waitara, but at the same time, to maintain good relations with the settler community, he determined to reoccupy Tataraimaka. When he sent troops back to the southern block before giving up Waitara a party of soldiers was ambushed by Maori on the beach road to the outlying district, and so fighting began in Taranaki which was to continue intermittently for several years.

The reoccupation of Tataraimaka took place in April 1863, three months before British troops crossed the Mangatawhiri River to begin the decisive Waikato War. The Second Taranaki War thus took place at the same time as the Waikato campaign which ended at Orakau in April 1864, also the Tauranga Campaign of 1864, the Wanganui campaigns of 1865 and 1866, and fighting on the East Coast in 1865. In Taranaki the fighting which began with Grey's move of autumn 1863 drifted to a close in spring 1866 in bush country near Opunake.

Whereas the 1860–61 campaign arose out of particular and limited settler ambition, the Second Taranaki War of 1863–66 became the instrument of a deliberate policy of expansion of European settlement according to the New Zealand Settlements Act. This November 1863 legislation of the settler parliament allowed confiscation of the whole of any district where a "considerable number" of Maoris were in rebellion against the Crown. The war in Taranaki was fought not just to bring about the defeat of Maori forces but to secure land for European settlement – and by taking their land, destroy any ability of Maori to continue the unequal struggle.

Most of the fortifications introduced in the following pages were frontier posts located to secure confiscated land for European settlement (Fig. 1). Other posts protected lines of communication north and south of New Plymouth. All were strategic in nature, unlike the tactical works of the 1860–61 campaign (Prickett 1994a). The works are presented in chronological order, which serves also to outline the course of campaigning. It is planned to

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deal in a later publication with fortifications of the period 1865–69. Map references and New Zealand Archaeological Association site record numbers for all sites are given in Appendix 1.

# **OPENING MOVES**

#### ST PATRICK'S (POUTOKO) REDOUBT

Renewed fighting in Taranaki dates from autumn 1863. On 6 April Lieutenant General Cameron reported to the War Office in London as follows:

"I have the honour to inform that on the 2nd March I proceeded to New Plymouth in H.M.S. "Harrier," in company with his Excellency Sir George Grey, with the view of taking measures for the protection of the Settlement against the Taranaki and Ngatiranni [sic, Ngati Ruanui] tribes, whose continued hostility since the war has prevented the settlers from returning to their farms, except in the immediate vicinity of the town."

(War Office 0270.II)

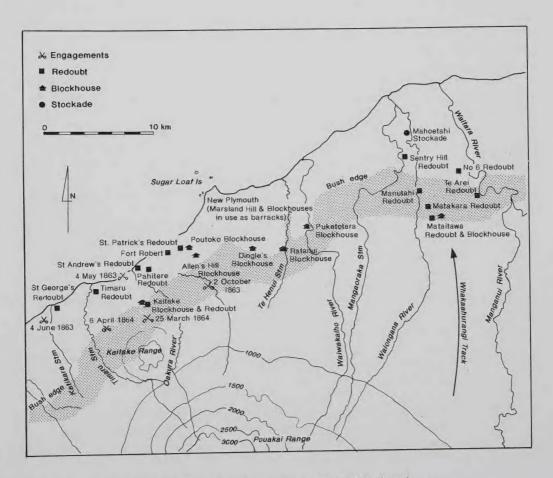


Fig. 1. North Taranaki showing sites and localities given in text.

The first movement in what was to be a protracted conflict was the establishment of a large redoubt within the southern boundary of the Omata Block. While the 1860 Waireka Camp (see Prickett 1994:41–43) was situated on the northern flank of the high ground extending here to the coast, and so overlooked country back to New Plymouth, the new work was high on the south side of the ridge and overlooked a wide area south and west. Except for the outlying Tataraimaka Block this country was in Maori ownership at the beginning of the decade. The new redoubt symbolises nicely the outward thrust of European ambition and strategy in Taranaki's second war.

"On Thursday Morning [March 12] at 8.30 o'clock, 300 of the 57th Regt. under Colonel Warre, C.B, Captains Woodall, and Gorton, Lieuts. Brutton, Thompson, Tragett, and Waller, Adjutant Clarke, and Asst. Surgeon Hope, together with Lieut. Ferguson and a detachment of the Royal Engineers, paraded under Mt Eliot and marched off by the Great South Road towards Omata, preceded by several carts laden with baggage and camp equipage in charge of Lieut. Cox, 57th Regt. His Excellency Sir George Grey, General Cameron, and suite, followed. The troops reached Waireka at 10 o'clock and encamped on Wilkinson's farm, near the southern boundary of the Omata block, where a stockade is to be erected."

(Taranaki Herald 14 Mar 1863)

The redoubt was completed and occupied on March 20 (*Taranaki Herald* 21 Mar 1863; Warre 1878:166 says the 24th). It was called 'St Patrick's Redoubt', or 'Poutoko' after a small Maori settlement on high ground seaward of today's Plymouth Road. On 1 April it was occupied by seven officers and 220 non–commissioned officers and men, 57th Regiment (War Office 0270.I: App. V). It was the first redoubt built under the supervision of Lieutenant Charles Ferguson R.E. who was later responsible for the design and construction of many Taranaki works.

Throughout 1863 St Patrick's Redoubt was occupied by troops of the 57th and 70th Regiments and briefly, during the absence of the 57th at Katikara River early in June, by the 40th (War Office 0270.1:35–36). When the 70th were sent to the Waikato in spring, nearby St Andrew's Redoubt (see below) was abandoned, its 57th Regiment garrison replacing the 70th at St Patrick's Redoubt (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 28 Aug 1863).

On 2 October 1863 a Maori force approached St Patrick's Redoubt from Kaitake and a fight took place at Allen's Hill 1.5 km south (see AJHR 1863 E–5:40–43). The troops soon pulled back from the bush edge held by the enemy. Ensign Down and Drummer Stagpoole, both of the 57th, won Victoria Crosses for bringing out a wounded soldier under heavy fire. Antonio Rodriguez of the Taranaki Mounted Volunteers gained the rare New Zealand Cross. At this time the redoubt was under the command of Captain A.B. Wright, 70th. After the fight Fort Robert was established not far from St Patrick's Redoubt to provide support (see below).

At the end of 1863 there were 150 militia at St Patrick's as well as troops (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 22 Dec 1863). The garrison and volunteer force at Fort Robert were under command of the senior regular officer at St Patrick's – in January 1864, Captain Shortt, 57th (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 20 Jan 1864). When Oakura was reoccupied in early March 1864 the troops abandoned St Patrick's to 100 militia under Captain Carthew (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 2 Mar 1864). On 1 August 1864 the post was still held by 250 local men (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Letter Book 1 Aug 1864).

St Patrick's Redoubt was less important with an end to the threat from Maori positions in the Kaitake Ranges in March 1864 and the establishment of military posts further south. In spring 1864 Poutoko Blockhouse (see below) was built nearby to replace the old redoubt, one face of which was thrown down at the time. 4 PRICKETT

A watercolour by Colonel Warre shows the troops' camp during construction of the redoubt (Fig 2.). There are also pictures by Warre of the palisaded Maori kainga 'Poutoko', situated on high ground just outside the Omata Block boundary.

St Patrick's Redoubt was situated within the major bend of South Road between Hurford and Plymouth Roads. It shows up well on an aerial photograph taken in August 1950 (Fig. 3). At this stage the work was still largely intact, although the west and east parapets had sustained damage. The signs of soldiers' huts can be seen, dug into the south facing slopes of the gully behind the redoubt. Photographs of the earthworks taken in the 1950s by Omata resident Len Jury are also an important record (Figs 4 and 5). The redoubt was completely destroyed when the present house was built on the site in the late 1950s.

From the aerial photograph St Patrick's can be established as an off–square work, ca 42 x 50 m, with flanking defence on all four corners in the so–called 'New Zealand style' (Young 1869:12). The entrance was through the north–east side (Fig. 6).

# ST GEORGE'S (TATARAIMAKA) REDOUBT

After the establishment of St Patrick's Redoubt Cameron went back to Auckland for reinforcements, which were to include 400 of the 65th and 70th Regiments, and Captain Mercer's Royal Artillery battery of 100 men who were given horses to make up a mounted



Fig. 2. Colonel H.J. Warre "Camp at Poutoko" (Hocken Library, Dunedin), showing the troops' encampment during construction of St Patrick's Redoubt, April 1863.



Fig. 3. Aerial view of St Patrick's Redoubt, 14 August 1950 (NZ Aerial Mapping 1787/5).

force and equipped with swords, revolvers and carbines. Cameron then returned to Taranaki, to reoccupy Tataraimaka – which he had first proposed in 1861 but which had since been claimed by Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui "...as belonging to them by right of conquest" (WO 0270.II).

The troops returned to Tataraimaka on 4 April 1863.

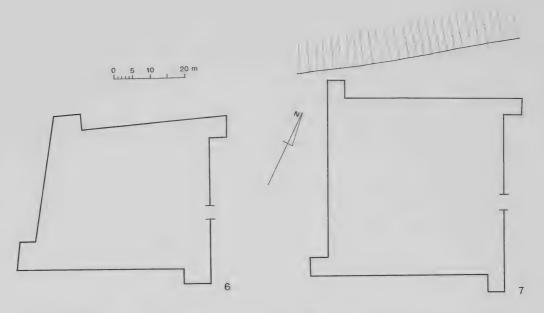
"The force consisted of 200 men of the 57th, under Colonel Warre, C.B., Capt. Woodall, Lieuts. Brutton, Thompson, Tragett, Cox, Waller, Lieut. and Adjut. Clarke, and Asst.– Surgeon Hope; also 100 Royal Artillery as a mounted corps, with two guns, under Capt. Mercer, R.A., and Lieuts. Rait and Pickard, R.A., together with 6 of the Royal Engineers, under Major Mould, R.E. His Excellency the Governor, Lieut.– General Cameron, C.B., and Staff, the hon. Mr. Domett, Colonial Secretary, the hon. Mr. Bell, Native Minister, and Mr. Parris, Asst. Native Secretary, and suite, arrived from town at the redoubt [St Patrick's] at 9.30, and soon after their arrival the force moved southwards; the detachment of the 70th, under Major Mulock, from Mace's farm occupying the redoubt vacated by the 57th." (*Taranaki Herald* 11 Apr 1863)



Fig. 4. View across the interior of St Patrick's Redoubt to north, taken in the 1950s by Len Jury, Omata.



Fig. 5. St Patrick's Redoubt defensive ditch, north-east side, 1950s photograph by Len Jury, Omata.



Figs 6–7. Redoubt plans. 6. St Patrick's Redoubt drawn from the 1950 aerial photograph. 7. St George's Redoubt.

The undefended camp at Mace's farm was located at Whaler's Gate near the corner of Barrett and Omata Roads. It was occupied briefly before the advance on Tataraimaka.

On the night of the 4th the force camped on MacDonald's farm, Tataraimaka, between Greenwood and Lower Timaru Roads. The following day the troops moved on to Bayly's farm at the seaward end of Pitone Road where work began on a new redoubt. Two hundred men completed 268 yards of parapet in four days. The work was completed and occupied on the morning of the 13th (War Office 0270.I: App. V). By 18 April only the 57th remained at Tataraimaka.

"At Tataraimaka, the 57th have completed the redoubt on Bayly's farm, (named St. George's Redoubt) and have constructed another on the site of an old Maori pa, which is called Mount Tataraimaka, – a strong natural position on a small promontory which commands the first named redoubt. The utmost vigilance is maintained at these redoubts, now under the command of Major Logan, 57th Regiment, recently from Wanganui."

(Taranaki Herald 18 Apr 1863)

On 4 May 1863 a party of soldiers travelling from St George's Redoubt to New Plymouth was attacked by Maori on the Oakura Beach near the mouth of Wairau Stream (Cowan 1922–23 I:216–218). Only one man escaped the ambush which contemporary reports refer to as the 'Hope–Tragett Ambush' (after the two officers killed) or, curiously enough, the 'Wairau Massacre' (*Taranaki Herald* 16 May 1863). This was the first engagement of the Second Taranaki War. Grey's tardiness in giving up the Waitara was reaping its reward. To make safe the road St Andrew's Redoubt was thrown up overlooking the north end of Oakura Beach.

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On 4 June the 57th at St George's Redoubt were joined by troops of the 65th and 70th Regiments and Royal Artillery for an attack on Porou, a fortified pa on the terrace country south of Katikara River. Cameron was in command, and Governor Grey watched from the *Eclipse* anchored offshore. The Taranaki and allied forces were driven from their position losing 28 dead (see AJHR 1863 E–5:1–5 for the reports). The pa was located on a slight but commanding mound where in the 1970s infilled earthworks could be traced over an area *ca* 50 x 50 m (map reference P19 863287). A lively sketch of the attack on the pa is to be found on page 75 in the Warre Sketchbook, Hocken Library.

When troops were shifted to Auckland in winter for the Waikato campaign only the 57th and one company of the 70th remained in Taranaki. It was decided therefore that St George's Redoubt would be given up. This was carried out the last day of June. Everything of value was brought away or burnt, and the redoubt left standing (*Taranaki Herald* 4 Jul 1863). It was to be 18 months before European forces returned to Tataraimaka.

In March 1864 Colonel Warre visited the abandoned redoubt in the course of operations against Maori positions on the flanks of the Kaitake Ranges.

"On Tuesday the 22nd after having destroyed the Tutu pah I visited St Georges Redoubt which remains in nearly the same state as when evacuated by the troops in July last. The Maoris not having taken the Trouble to destroy the Parapets or even the Stockade facing the sea."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 1 Apr 1864)

On 18 April 1864 150 of the 57th, together with mounted men and Bushrangers, Volunteers and Military Settlers, 500 men in all, under command of Major Butler, 57th, marched south from New Plymouth. On the 19th they reached St George's Redoubt where 100 men were left, made up of Captain Schomberg with some of the 57th and Captain Brassey's military settlers (*Taranaki Herald* 23 Apr 1864). The main force went on to destroy Maori property south of Stoney River, returning to Tataraimaka on the evening of the 20th. Next day the force returned to town and the post was again left empty.

St George's Redoubt was reoccupied for the last time at the end of 1864. On 28 November Colonel Warre wrote the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland,

"I have the honour to report for the information of the Lieut General Comg that Tataramaika was reoccupied by a detach 43rd L. Infy under Major Colvile 43 L.I. on the 24th inst. The Redoubt was partially destroyed, but a few days work will restore it to its former state ." (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book)

The 43rd detachment was 285 strong, including 250 rank and file.

The redoubt lost importance as the war moved south. In January 1865 much of the garrison marched forward to the Stoney River frontier (*Taranaki Herald* 28 Jan 1865). A month later the garrison was down to 114 of the 43rd (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 18 Feb 1865). On 31 May 1865 there remained just 52 of the 43rd, 19 Military Settlers and 15 Taranaki Militia (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64). In October the 43rd at Tataraimaka were reduced to one sergeant, one bugler and 17 rank and file (NP Garrison Order Book 25 Oct 1865). The redoubt was finally abandoned on 18 April 1866 (NP Garrison Order Book 17 April 1866).

St George's Redoubt was situated on the seaward terrace edge south of Lower Pitone Road, where a notice draws attention to the redoubt and the common grave of Maori killed on 4 June 1863. The notice names 'Fort St George', a term not used at the time. The summit



Fig. 8. G.W. Norbury, 'The Fight of Kaitake, one Mile South of Tataraimaka. 4th June 1863' (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington). In the left foreground are tents, signal mast and defensive parapet of the 'Crow's Nest' on top of Tataraimaka pa. In St George's Redoubt three rows of tents leave a clear area behind the forward (far) parapet. Outside smoke rises from a cookhouse. Troops are advancing on the pa – on the skyline right of the flagpole. The *Eclipse* is offshore. The artist was a soldier in the 70th Regiment.

of nearby Tataraimaka pa which was used as a military signal station is still known by the soldiers' name – the 'Crows Nest'.

A watercolour by G.W. Norbury, 70th Regiment, shows the attack of June 1863 from the 'Crows Nest' with the redoubt in the foreground (Fig. 8). The work is of typical rectangular plan with flanking defence at each corner to cover all sides. It is also pictured in a watercolour by Robert Greenwood, held in the Taranaki Museum (Fig. 9). Neither picture confirms Colonel Warre's "stockade facing the sea", which may date from after the sketches were made.

The redoubt lies outside the present reserve, on the other side of a boxthorn hedge (Fig. 10). Although largely destroyed by cultivation over the years, historical and archaeological information combine to give its shape and size. Colonel Gamble says the parapet was 268 yards (245 m) in length (War Office 0270 .I). Archaeological evidence indicates a work approximately 60 m square with signs of flanking defence on the inland angles, and at the south–west corner covering the seaward face (Fig. 7). The latter angle, close to the steep scarp to the sea, is supported by beach boulders which may still be seen. The fourth angle, visible in the Norbury picture, is now beneath the hedge.



Fig. 9. St George's Redoubt and 'Crow's Nest'. (Robert Greenwood, Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth).

There is a suggestion that the seaward face was originally unflanked. Colonel Gamble writes,

"A small work for thirty men was also thrown up on a cliff overhanging the sea, and partly commanding the redoubt, of which it partly enfilades the sea face, the only one left unflanked in the construction of the work."

(War Office 0270.I: App. V)

The Greenwood sketch offers difficult confirmation of this point. The Norbury picture, however, shows that one month after its establishment the redoubt is fully flanked. Excavation might throw light on these alterations.

The earth breastwork which surrounded the signal station is no longer visible, the platform on top of the old pa offers no surface indication of its military use. Two tents, a signal mast and breastwork are shown at bottom left in the Norbury picture, and can also be seen in the Greenwood watercolour.

# ST ANDREW'S (OAKURA) REDOUBT

Work on St Andrew's Redoubt began on 5 May 1863, the day after the ambush on Oakura Beach. The new work was located on the high terrace north of the Oakura River mouth,



Fig. 10. A 1975 aerial photograph reveals the ploughed remains of St George's Redoubt. On the headland are the remains of Tataraimaka pa and the 'Crow's Nest' signal station.

overlooking the scene of the ambush. Soldiers of the 57th and 70th were employed, under the command of Major Logan, 57th. The redoubt was completed in about a week (*Taranaki Herald* 8 and 16 May 1863).

St Andrew's Redoubt was occupied at the end of May by 150 of the 57th (War Office 0270.I:33), reinforced by 50 of the 70th on 1 June (War Office 0270.I:36), and a further 50 of the same regiment on 9 June (War Office 0270.I:39). The redoubt was abandoned when the 70th were transferred to Waikato in August.

"On the 11 August the Troops were withdrawn from the Oakura Redoubt at noon, the whole of the stores, Camp Equipage, Ammunition, Signal mast, and Howitzer being removed to Poutoko by the carts in Two trips."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 16 Aug 1863)

On 15 September 1863 troops from Poutoko made use of the abandoned redoubt in carrying out an ambush nearby, Captain Russell leaving a small part of his force there to secure his return (GBPP [3277]:77). In October about 60 Maori were reported to be pulling down the unoccupied earthwork (GBPP [3277]:91).

St Andrew's Redoubt was reoccupied on 1 March 1864, after the death of a Mr Pattison at the hands of Maori from the Kaitake Ranges two days before. But Colonel Warre had already been planning the move, for reasons similar to his occupation of Mahoetahi and Sentry Hill shortly before (AD1, 64/363). Although most European forces were committed in the Waikato, resources for an aggressive policy were again becoming available in Taranaki, in particular the increasing numbers of Taranaki Military Settlers. Warre wanted these men established in quarters before winter, out of New Plymouth which had been a "...pandemonium of Drunkenness since their arrival" (AD1, 64/1058).

A 2 March 1864 letter from Warre to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, outlines the disposition of troops in Taranaki at this time.

"In reference to my letter of the 29th Ultimo [February] I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieut General Commg. that in Consequence of the murder of Mr Pattison I have re–occupied the old position at Oakura – & the Troops and Militia are now employed in rebuilding the Redoubt which had been partially destroyed by the Rebel Maoris, who made no attempt at opposing the advance of the Troops

Oakura About 100 of the 57th under Capt Lloyd About 150 Mily Settlers under Capt Page Fort Robert and 120 Militia under Parhetiri [sic] on Capt. Corbett the Tapuae River Poutoko-100 Militia under Capt Carthew 80 Militia under Capt McKellar Omata-The remainder of the Militia and Military Settlers occupy the Blockhouses surrounding the Town - the Town itself - and about 60 at Bell Block Stockade. Captain Shortt's Company 57th Regiment occupies Sentry Hill with about the same number of men (60) under Lieut Mills at Mahoitahi [sic] under Canvas and in the Blockhouse."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book)

St Andrew's Redoubt became the central forward post for the southern front until the further advance of summer 1864–65. Colonel Warre, in a letter to the Defence Minister, Auckland, dated 27 April 1864, writes,

"It is proposed to establish a Central Depot at Oakura (St Andrew's Redoubt) where (100) one hundred regular Infantry are stationed for the supply of all posts south of the Tapuae River – and at the St Andrews Redoubt should be established a Militia Field Hospital, Field Magazine and Stores for the supply of such articles as must be required and which it is difficult to convey during the Winter Mos."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book)

In May work was begun on barrack buildings at the post, which were probably completed about the end of July (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 13 Jul 1964). A signal station was established on 26 March after Kaitake pa was taken in the ranges overlooking the redoubt (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 3 Apr 1864),

On 31 May 1865 the garrison at St Andrew's Redoubt was made up of three Royal Artillery, one captain, one subaltern, two sergeants and 27 rank and file, 43rd Light Infantry,

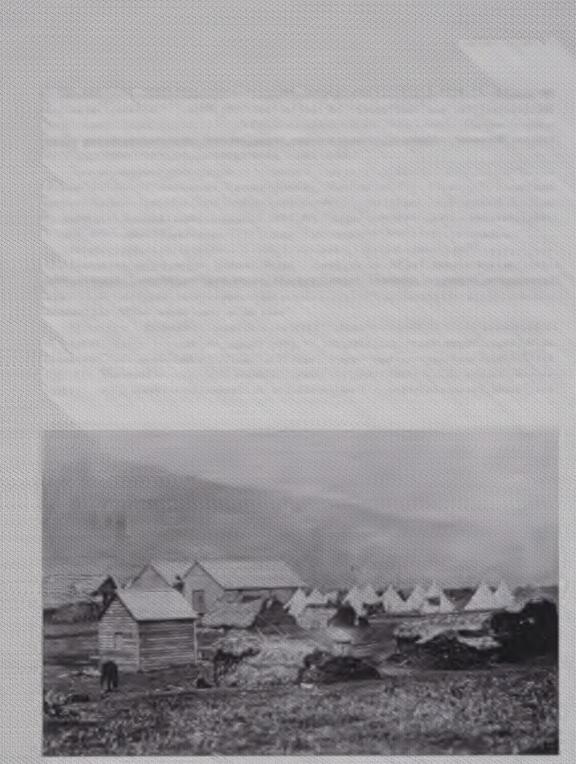




Fig. 12. St Andrew's Redoubt. The camera has been set up beyond the small shed in the left foreground of Figure 11, to show the redoubt with tents, signal mast and large raupo-roofed huts within. A causeway with handrail leads to the gateway. In the foreground cooking is going on over an open fire. (Volume 2, Nicholl Albums, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

inside the redoubt are separated by slight steps. The ditch around the work averages 8 m from the top of the wall to the outer edge; a causeway crosses to an entrance in the north– east wall.

East of the redoubt a 50 m long parapet tops the terrace edge (Fig. 13). Cart ruts can be seen running across the terrace to the seaward end of the parapet where the old road descended to the beach down the narrow spur on the seaward side of Corbett Park. It left the beach again south of Timaru River. Depressions mark the sites of semi–subterranean accommodation huts shown in the Nicholl photographs. The ragged trench parallel to the cart ruts will also be the result of traffic to the top of the descent to the beach.

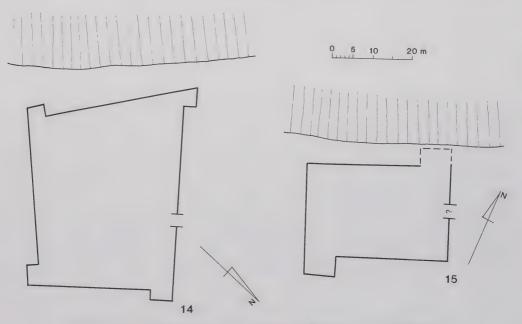
The site is in good condition with earth walls protected by gorse growing on top. Where the gorse has gone walls have suffered from erosion and stock damage. The redoubt interior has apparently been used in the past as a vegetable garden. The paddock outside appears never to have been ploughed.

#### FORT ROBERT

Fort Robert dates from the fight at Allen's Hill on 2 October 1863. The new work was thrown up on high ground seaward of the present junction of Plymouth and South Roads. A pa or kainga named Rangiuru once occupied the hilltop site (Wairau I and II blocksheet 45/2, DOSLI, New Plymouth; the settlement is depicted in the Hocken Library Warre Sketchbook, p. 53). Fort Robert was named after Ropata Ngarongamate of Poutoko, a leading Maori ally of the European settlers and military forces (Skinner 1935:6).



Fig. 13. St Andrew's Redoubt, 1975. Outside the offsquare work can be seen depressions which mark dug–in soldiers' huts (see Figs 11 and 12), and the cart road which led to a steep descent to Oakura Beach.



Figs 14-15. Redoubt plans. 14. St Andrew's Redoubt. 15. Fort Robert.

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As well as providing flanking defence for St Patrick's Redoubt, the new post was established, "with a view to ... further advance as soon as circumstances admit" (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 10 Oct 1863). Fort Robert was occupied only by local forces, Colonel Gamble (War Office 0270.I:59) reporting that one of the reasons for its establishment was so that the newly arrived Otago contingent of Taranaki Military Settlers might "cultivate with safety".

"On Wednesday [7 October] 50 men of the Volunteer Militia, under Capt. J.G. Corbett and Ensign J. Kelly, marched to the front, and now garrison Fort Robert, a redoubt to seaward of the abandoned native village at Poutoko, and which overlooks the Tapuae and Oakura blocks."

(Taranaki Herald 10 Oct 1863)

The garrison was reinforced on 13 October by one officer and 24 men of the Taranaki Military Settlers (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 17 Oct 1863). In March 1864 Captain Corbett's company was divided between Fort Robert and the new redoubt at Pahitere (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 2 Mar 1864). It is likely the July withdrawal of men to St Patrick's Redoubt and establishment of a new blockhouse at Allen's Hill marks the abandonment of Fort Robert (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 18 Jul 1864).

A sketch by Lieutenant Colonel E.A. Williams shows a corner of the Fort Robert defences with an earth flanking angle and palisaded wall (Fig. 16). Soldiers' washing, a dovecote and a flagpole can be seen. A small hut is set into the hillside below the two figures. The location of some huts can be seen in the 1950 aerial photograph (1787/5, 14 Aug 1950, NZ Aerial Mapping; Fig. 17), but these are indistinct on the ground today.

The redoubt is situated on top of the hill with the trig 'Poutoko A', 97.5 m above sea level, at one angle. It measures ca 23 x 35 m, and appears from the 1950 aerial photograph to have had flanking defence at two angles to cover only the two long sides (Fig. 15). Only one of these 5 x 7.5 m bastions is now apparent. The site has been largely destroyed by cultivation, most damage occurring after the 1950 aerial photograph was taken.



Fig. 16. "Fort Robert. 28 June 1864. Coast of New Zealand – Taranaki". (E.A. Williams Sketchbook, Hocken Library, Dunedin). Earthwork and stockade can be seen. At left is a soldiers' hut, typically dug into a nearby hillside. Beyond is the great sweep of the Taranaki coast.



Fig. 17. Fort Robert, 1950, the dugout remains of semi– subterranean soldiers' huts can be seen on the steep slope to the south. (New Zealand Aerial Mapping 1787/5).

#### TO SENTRY HILL

# MAHOETAHI STOCKADE

In the First Taranaki War a stockade was put up on a knoll – and old pa, Ngapuketurua – on the left bank of the Waiongana River, to help secure the Devon Road to Waitara (Prickett 1994a:54–57). The post was held by Pakeha forces until Waitara was abandoned on 13 May 1863 at the outset of the second war, when it was given over to Mahau, a 'friendly' Te Atiawa chief. On 15 February 1864 Mahoetahi was re–occupied by troops and local forces following instructions to Colonel Warre earlier in the month (AD1, 64/363) to build a redoubt at nearby Sentry Hill. A signal station was established at the post the day the troops arrived (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 16 Feb 1864).

When the defences at Sentry Hill were completed the Mahoetahi garrison was reduced to 20 men under Lieutenant Mills, 57th. By October the post was occupied by 26 Military Settlers and 27 of the 70th Regiment. The regulars withdrew in November and were sent forward to Te Arei Redoubt, but were apparently back at Mahoetahi in May 1865. On 1 July 1865 Mahoetahi Stockade was held by 34 regular troops, including five Royal Artillery, plus 16 local men. It is likely the post was abandoned shortly after.

Following re–occupation of the stockade in 1864 the post was enlarged by an earth breastwork thrown around a second knoll. The twin fortification with an encampment on lower ground, is shown in Colonel Warre's sketch (Fig. 18), which dates from the move to Mataitawa in October 1864. An outline plan is given by the surveyor S. Percy Smith on page 10, Fieldbook W.1 (DOSLI, New Plymouth).

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Fig. 18. "Mahohitahi Oct 10th 1864". (H.J. Warre Sketchbook, Alexander Turnbull Library). A redoubt and stockade occupy adjacent lahar mounds; activity relates to the spring 1864 advance on Mataitawa.

Mahoetahi Stockade was situated just south of Devon Road, between State Highway 3A and the Waiongana River. The stockaded, southerly, hill is topped by a platform *ca* 12 m in diameter, below which, on the north slopes are some terraces. On the lower hill the irregular platform for earthwork defences is *ca* 24 x 17 m. There has been some damage by quarrying, but no cultivation so that the site may be largely intact.

# SENTRY HILL REDOUBT

Sentry Hill was named for the Maori lookouts who maintained a watch from the commanding position during the First Taranaki War. Maori themselves called the hill 'Te Morere'. A plan to establish a military outpost on the hill early in 1860 was not put into effect (*Taranaki Herald* 11 Jan 1860).

In January 1864 Colonel Warre decided to establish a redoubt on Sentry Hill, in order to push forward the exclusion zone for enemy forces, halt communication between Maori living in areas under European control and those still fighting, and prepare for an advance on Manutahi and Mataitawa at the end of the inland track from the south (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 23 Jan 1864). This was the first European fortification thrown up north of New Plymouth in the Second Taranaki War and foreshadowed considerable military activity in the area over the next spring and summer.

"On Monday last [15 Feb 1864], at 5 a.m., a force of 250 men - 100 of the 57th under Capt. Shortt, a few of the Royal Artillery under Lieut. Larcom, the two companies of Bushrangers and some of No. 1 Militia, under Captains Atkinson and Webster, the whole commanded by

Major Butler, 57th Regt. – left town to take possession of Sentry Hill. Col. Warre, C.B., accompanied the force to direct the first day's operations."

(Taranaki Herald 20 Feb 1864)

A halt was made at Mahoetahi where a camp was pitched and the post which had been abandoned in 1863, re–occupied. The greater part of the force then went on to Sentry Hill where the Royal Engineer Lieutenant Ferguson laid out the redoubt and superintended construction (*Taranaki Herald* 20 Feb 1864). The Sentry Hill force was joined on 16 February by 150 Military Settlers from Melbourne, who had arrived in New Plymouth on the *Gresham* two days previously (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 16 Feb 1864).

"The work was found to be much more tedious than was expected, from the fact of there being a great deal of stone just under the surface; the soil was also so light that it was feared the embankment would not stand...but the plentiful use of fern was found to overcome the difficulty, and the banks seem likely to stand well. When finished they will be 14 or 15 feet high from the bottom of the ditch and nearly perpendicular. The redoubt itself is a simple square – flanking corners being unnecessary from the height of its sides and its commanding position, and it is meant to hold 75 men."

(Taranaki Herald 20 Feb 1864)

Colonel Warre visited the new position on 19 February and wrote in his journal, now held in the Alexander Turnbull Library,

"The Redoubt is built much too hastily the parapets too [steep?] and too much fern has been used so that in a few weeks it will subside & very likely slip altogether the earth is not good for building parapets but I told Mr Ferguson what to expect before hand..."

Warre reported on 22 February that the redoubt was complete, and occupied on the 20th by a company of the 57th under Captain Shortt (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 22 Feb 1864). He goes on to say that, "owing to the Rocky and loose nature of the soil and confined space on Sentry Hill, I was obliged to direct a small Stockade to be placed, as a flank defence on an adjoining knoll." The stockade was 200 m north east of the redoubt, 22 of the Melbourne men remaining for a time with Captain Shortt's company to help in its construction (*Taranaki Herald* 27 Feb 1864). A blockhouse was built within the redoubt in March (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 2 Mar 1864).

Lieutenant Ferguson was soon to receive another blast, this time over construction of the nearby stockade. This reveals something of the principles and practical requirements of outpost defence and is worth quoting in full. In a letter dated 6 March 1864 the Garrison Adjutant, Lieutenant Brutton, writes,

#### "Sir

I am directed to inform you that on visiting Sentry Hill yesterday Col Warre was much disappointed to find the flank defence so very incomplete, and also, that you have apparently, misunderstood the Colonels object, and have expended much unnecessary time and labor in the construction of a work there are not men enough properly to defend.

I am to observe that by placing the flank Bastion on the wrong angle of the Stockade, one face has been left entirely undefended, and the door being placed on the front face, there is no possibility of reinforcing the men within, should an attack be made suddenly, and the enemy obtain possession of the Gully the stockade is intended to Command.

Col Warre desires me to add that he considers this work should not have been left to a sapper,

but that a N.C. Officer should have been sent from Town to have superintended, when you were precluded doing so yourself.

I am further to remark that Col Warre considers a great want of Judgement has been shewn in commencing a building, which is liable to be attacked, at any moment, on the rear insted [sic] of the Front face, and to request that the door may be placed on the West face of the stockade, and by erecting a light palisading, enable men to go in and out without being seen." (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 6 Mar 1864)

An attack on Sentry Hill Redoubt on the morning of 30 April 1864 was beaten off with heavy casualties among the attackers. Cowan (1922–23 II:22–26) has a remarkable account of the one– sided fight by one of the attacking party. Colonel Warre's report is in the British Parliamentary Papers (1864 [3386]:31–32). At this time Captain Shortt was in command of 75 men (*Taranaki Herald* 7 May 1864). The attack was one of only two assaults on European military works in all the campaigning in north Taranaki. The January 1861 attack on No 3 Redoubt was equally unsuccessful.

In May troops north of New Plymouth were reorganised for the winter. The 57th at Sentry Hill returned to New Plymouth, their place being taken by militia from Mahoetahi who were in turn replaced by "friendly natives" at that post (NP Garrison Order Book 24 May 1864).

The establishment of redoubts inland in spring 1864 led to reductions in the Sentry Hill garrison. On 20 October Military Settlers at the post included two officers, three sergeants and 57 rank and file (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 20 Oct 1864). Early in 1865 the garrison was reduced to 30 rank and file (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 11 Jan 1865).

Nonetheless, Sentry Hill remained important to the end of the decade because of its commanding central position at the corner of the Waitara and inland roads. In 1868 it was for a time the base for the newly formed Armed Constabulary before they moved into permanent quarters in New Plymouth (*Taranaki Herald* 7 May 1868). After the Maori attack on Pukearuhe in February 1869 it was occupied by Bushrangers under Captain Kelly (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 19 Mar 1869). The last garrison at Sentry Hill was struck off pay on 24 November that year (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Order Book 23 Nov 1869). An 1869 Defence Office Report states that the three room blockhouse was in good repair, but that the redoubt was in bad order (AD35/12).

Sentry Hill Redoubt is pictured in a surveyor's fieldbook pencil sketch (Fig. 19). The high walled redoubt has a bridge over the ditch to a gate on the north side. Two barrack buildings of the usual form stand inside and there is a hut outside. A watercolour by Colonel Warre shows the redoubt and stockade from Mahoetahi (Fig. 20). There is also a pencil sketch on p. 35 in the Warre Sketchbook, Alexander Turnbull Library.

A fieldbook issued to the surveyor Frederick Carrington has a rough ground plan of the redoubt and stockade, dated 15 March 1867 (Fieldbook I.20, p. 22, DOSLI, New Plymouth). The barrack buildings are on the west side of the redoubt interior, with an open area within the gateway. The stockade is marked "33 links square" – at 190 mm per link, this makes it *ca* 6.3 x 6.3 m.

Sentry Hill is just off the Waitara–Inglewood road (Highway 3A), 2 km from the junction with Devon Road. The hill has been destroyed by quarrying and nothing remains of the redoubt. I have not found any surface evidence at the stockade site on the knoll north of the road.



Fig. 19. Sentry Hill Redoubt. (S. Percy Smith, Fieldbook W.1, DOSLI, New Plymouth).



Fig. 20. "Morere or Sentry Hill Redoubt 1865". (H.J. Warre, Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia). At left is the stockade added as flank defence; beyond is the redoubt.

# CLOSING OFF THE KAITAKE RANGES

# PAHITERE REDOUBT

Pahitere Redoubt was established on 1 March 1864 by part of Captain Corbett's company of Military Settlers at the same time as nearby St Andrew's Redoubt was re–occupied by troops. Both moves were to prepare for driving Maori forces from their strongholds in the Kaitake Ranges. The disposition of troops and militia in Taranaki at this time is given in the section on St Andrew's Redoubt.

Pahitere was always held by local forces, in conjunction with the regular troops at St Andrew's a kilometre away. A blockhouse was built within the redoubt in June and July 1864 (*Taranaki Herald* 25 Jun 1864), with accommodation for 40 men in addition to a store room and officers' quarters (AD35/12). On 31 May 1865 there were two subalterns, three sergeants, one drummer and 39 men, T.M.S., along with a 43rd Regiment drummer (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64). The position declined in importance in late in 1865 and 1866 as the frontier was pushed south. In July 1866 there was just one man in residence, from No 2 Company, T.M.S. (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 6 Jul 1866). The post was given over to Ropata Ngarongomate in November that year (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 6 Nov 1866).

Pahitere Redoubt is situated near the corner of South and Koru Roads, near Oakura, 200 m inland of the main road (Fig. 21). An old pa (Pahitere) on a prominent knoll has been reshaped, the redoubt retaining the double ditch and bank which almost entirely encircles the central platform. Remains of the pa are described in my account of Maori fortifications of the Omata and Oakura districts (Prickett 1980:30–31).



Fig. 21. Pahitere Redoubt, 1975. An aerial view shows how an older pa was modified for the European fortification. Below the redoubt depressions mark the sites of dug–in soldiers' huts. The blockhouse building from the redoubt can be seen bottom right.

The 25 x 11 m rectangular platform without flanking defence was largely reworked by the Military Settlers, and had an earth breastwork still about "3 ft. high in some parts" when seen by Elsdon Best (1975:222) early this century. This is no more than 150–200 mm high today.

Figure 22 is a photograph by Lieutenant Nicholl of the post in summer 1864–65. The blockhouse has survived, shifted out of the redoubt and over a gully to serve for many years as a farm cottage (Fig. 21). A verandah has been added and an addition at the back has led to an alteration to the roof line. Blockhouses like this were prefabricated in kauri in Auckland and were shipped to various campaign theatres in New Zealand.

The redoubt earthworks are in excellent order. On the eastern slope of the hill a number of depressions marking hut sites can still be seen. Gorse and blackberry on the steep scarps protect the earthworks from stock damage and erosion.

# KAITAKE REDOUBT

When St Andrew's Redoubt was re-occupied in March 1864 the British command was able to turn its attention to enemy strongholds on the northern flanks of the Kaitake Ranges. These controlled the first of three Maori routes into north Taranaki which were soon to be closed off by European forces. The others were the inland Whakaahurangi track from the south and the coastal route from the north, which were blocked the following spring and autumn. Deputy Quartermaster General Colonel Gamble reported,



Fig. 22. Pahitere Redoubt from the east, showing dug–in soldiers' huts, two with barrel chimneys, also a dovecote and well. A causeway over the outer ditch leads to the main entrance by way of a bridge across the inner ditch. Access to the ditch 5 m from the south–east corner gave a protected route into the redoubt from outside huts should the post come under attack, the main gate being very exposed. (Volume 2, Nicholl Album, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

"The possession of Kaitake is of the greatest importance in every respect. It practically clears out the enemy from the south of the town of New Plymouth, intercepts his easy communication with Mataitawa on the north, facilitates the re–occupation of and communication with Tataraimaka, and will insure the cultivation of the valuable Oakura block of land without danger."

### (War Office 0270.I:103)

The Kaitake pa had already been reconnoitred and shelled on 23 December 1863 (War Office 0270.I:81). On 11 March 1864, after the re–occupation of St Andrew's Redoubt, Major Butler led a small force to the Maori strongholds but withdrew under fire (GBPP 1864 [3386]:10–12). On 25 March, at the end of a four day operation aimed at turning the enemy out of all their strongholds in the ranges, the two main pa, upper and lower Kaitake, were taken. Colonel Warre was in command of Volunteers, Military Settlers and 57th Regiment totalling 700 men (GBPP 1864 [3380]:3–7). Colonel Gamble gives an excellent map showing Maori positions and disposition of attacking European forces (War Office 0270.I:opp. 101).

The first pa taken, on 22 March, was Te Tutu, "...situated on the Katikara River, four miles above the rebel position, so successfully attacked by the Lieut.–General on the 4th June 1863" (GBPP 1864 [3380]:3). In May 1863 Te Tutu was reported held by Hori Patene of Wanganui, and at the time there was a pa seaward of Te Tutu named 'Okaroa' (*Taranaki Herald* 16 May 1863). The trig 'Tutu A' (152 m above sea level; P19 887245) fits the location, although searching has not revealed archaeological remains. Ahu Ahu was taken on 24 March. This position was situated on a steep spur of the Kaitake Ranges rising from the present main road close to the Ahu Ahu Road corner (see Cape III (14/5) blocksheet, DOSLI, New Plymouth). Ahu Ahu was occupied in May 1863 by people from Warea under Aperahama (*Taranaki Herald* 16 May 1863).

The upper and lower Kaitake pa were close together on the ridge east of the upper end of Wairau Road (and are marked on a map by Colonel Warre – War Office 0270.I:opp. 101). In 1863 they were held by Parenga Kingi and Tamati Oraukawa (*Taranaki Herald* 16 May 1863). Rifle pits were located below them on the spur; a stockade extended across the valley of the Wairau Stream. A drawing in the Warre Sketchbook, Hocken Library (p. 83), and watercolour in the Nan Kivell Collection, Australian National Library, give a distant view of Maori defences. Kaitake Redoubt was placed on the upper pa. Nothing remains of the lower Maori position.

"The three days following the capture of Kaitake the troops were busily employed in turning the upper pa into a first- rate redoubt, and great credit is due to the regulars and militia for the energetic way they worked, but under the superintendence of such an indefatigable officer as Lieut. Ferguson R.E., this perhaps is only what might have been expected."

(Taranaki Herald 9 Apr 1864)

But Colonel Warre was displeased with work on the new redoubt, Lieutenant Ferguson receiving a letter from the Garrison Office as follows:

"Sir

I am directed to inform you that the Col Comm'g considers the Redoubt at Kaitake requires your immediate attention, and he requests you will proceed tomorrow morning and remain at Oakura or Kaitake, as may be most convenient until the Redoubt is placed in a perfectly defensible state, which the Colonel cannot consider it at present.

If wet weather, owing to the banquette being constructed on a slope, in some places, it is

impossible to walk upon it – the parapets in places, and particularly on the S.W. side near the upper angle – have sunk so much as to afford no cover to the defenders, and owing to the parapet on that side having been constructed on the <u>inside</u> instead of the <u>out</u>side of the old Stockade – the stockade obstructs the fire of the defenders, and must be removed.

It will also be necessary to clear off the whole of the Palisading in front, Viz: the old Pa & wharres [sic], – leaving nothing to interrupt the fire from the Redoubt, the garrison of which, as soon as you report these arrangements complete, will be reduced, so as to allow every tent, and every man at night – to remain within the parapets."

(NP Garrison Office Letter Book 11 Apr 1864)

At the beginning of April Colonel Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, on the construction of the redoubt, "... which the Troops have done me the honour, with the sanction of the Lieut General Commanding to Christen 'Fort Warre'" (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 1/2 Apr 1864). Sanction was presumably forthcoming for the post is occasionally called 'Fort Warre' in the months following (for example, a letter addressed to the "Officer Commanding Fort Warre", NP Garrison Office Letter Book, 16 Oct 1864), although it is usually 'Kaitake Redoubt'.

On 6 April Captain Thomas Lloyd led a patrol of 57th Regiment and Military Settlers from the redoubt along the flanks of the ranges to destroy enemy crops. The party was ambushed at Ahu Ahu, with Lloyd, two of the 57th and four Military Settlers killed (Cowan 1922–23 II:15–17). The episode led to Lloyd's head being shown about the North Island as proof of the efficacy of the new 'Hau Hau' faith. The Maori trenches at Ahu Ahu were still clearly to be seen in the 1980s.

The garrison at Kaitake Redoubt was first made up of a company of the 57th under Captain Russell, plus Captain Carthew's company of Military Settlers (*Taranaki Herald* 26 Mar 1864). It was held by men of the 57th and 70th Regiments and local forces through the winter of 1864. Duty at the post was considered "irksome" and the garrison was for some time changed every month (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 25 Apr 1864). A blockhouse was completed in the redoubt at the end of August 1864 and was initially occupied by Captain Stewart of the 57th (Warre Journal 27 Aug 1864). Early in September it was taken over by Military Settlers, this probably marking the withdrawal of regular troops from the post (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 5 Sep 1864).

In October Warre gave orders that Military Settlers at the post were not to be reduced below 60 men (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 18 Oct 1864). Soon, however, the garrison was subject to the same reduction as other positions left in the rear of the advancing European frontier. On 31 May 1865 numbers were down to 29 T.M.S. (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64). The post was locked up for a time following the transfer of local forces to the Patea district in September 1866 (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 26 Sep 1866). Kaitake Redoubt was then maintained only for emergencies, to be occupied for the last time during the White Cliffs scare of 1869 (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 26 Mar 1869).

There are two photographs of Kaitake Redoubt in the Nicholl Album, Alexander Turnbull Library. The one reproduced here shows the redoubt with tents, huts and signal mast outside, and blockhouse within (Fig. 23). Layers of fern bind the light soil earthworks. Information on a Taranaki Museum print of the photograph states that the men belong to Captain Hussey's company of Military Settlers – at the post in late 1864 and early 1865 – and that Captain Messenger is present. Messenger visited the post over Christmas 1864 (*Taranaki Herald* 7 Jan 1865), and it is likely the picture dates from this time. The date is consistent with the photographs of St Andrew's and Pahitere Redoubts and almost certainly dates the entire series.



Fig. 23. Kaitake Redoubt. (Volume 2, Nicholl Album, Alexander Turnbull Library).

Kaitake Redoubt is located on a high point of the major spur of the Kaitake Ranges which falls to the north between today's Wairau and Surrey Hill Roads, at the edge of a steep drop to the Wairau Stream (Fig. 24). The trig '10863' (211 m above sea level) is situated at the northern angle of the work. On the near slope tell–tale depressions mark soldier's huts and other buildings.

The work was ca 40 x 17–13 m (Fig. 25). The plan is confirmed by aerial photograph 1789/9 taken in 1950. Flanking defence appears to have been directed solely at the southern (forward) part of the two long sides. The south and west ditches are still distinct, and the entrance over the northern ditch remains visible. The eastern side has been damaged by a bulldozed farm road.

# LOWER KAITAKE BLOCKHOUSE

At the end of winter 1864 work was begun on a blockhouse in the Wairau Stream valley below Kaitake Redoubt. The new post was intended to complement the key position on the hill above.

The new post was first occupied by one lieutenant, a sergeant and 20 rank and file, probably of the 57th Regiment from Kaitake Redoubt, on 16 October (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 16 Oct 1864). Two days later the troops were replaced by an officer and 25 men from the Military Settlers at Oakura (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 18 Oct 1864). In November this garrison was ordered to rejoin Captain McKellar's company which moved forward to establish Timaru Redoubt (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 25 Nov 1864). Lower



Fig. 24. Kaitake Redoubt, 1975, from the north-east. Beyond is the valley of Wairau Stream.

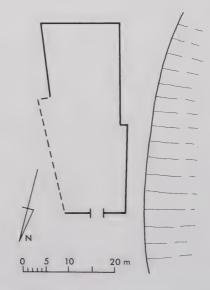


Fig. 25. Plan of Kaitake Redoubt.

Kaitake Blockhouse was then occupied by one officer and "not less than" 15 rank and file from Captain Mace's company, T.M.S., from Kaitake Redoubt.

On 20 December 1864 Colonel Warre gave permission to shut up the blockhouse during the day (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 20 Dec 1864). In February 1865 the night guard too was withdrawn (NP Garrison Office Letter Book 3 Feb 1865), and in August that year the building was removed and re–erected at the nearby Ahu Ahu town site (AD1, 65/2452).

The Lower Kaitake Blockhouse is located on the Wairau II block sheet. The original record can be found in the relevant fieldbook (Blocksheet 45/4; Fieldbook O.7, p. 58, DOSLI, New Plymouth). Interestingly the surveyor indicates partial redoubt or stockade defence. The reference to the removal of the blockhouse mentions "palisading" and it is likely therefore, as was commonly the case, that the blockhouse was enclosed by a stockade, like the Mataitawa Blockhouse pictured in Figure 40. The site is just off the original line of Wairau Road on the rise about 200 m beyond the present road end. No surface evidence remains.

# SECURING THE HINTERLAND

After the killing of a farmer named Pattison on Frankley Road on 28 February 1864 moves were made to secure the farming districts behind New Plymouth. In response to a settlers' petition Colonel Warre decided to build three blockhouses in the area (AD1, 64/ 1225). Interestingly, Warre refers to a 23 April 1861 report by Royal Engineer Colonel Thomas Mould who urged a ring of six blockhouses from the Waiwakaiho River to Omata at the close of the first war in Taranaki. The new blockhouses relate to reoccupation of St Andrew's Redoubt and the expulsion of Maori forces from the Kaitake Ranges which occurred at the same time.

The new positions overlooked the Waiwakaiho, Henui and Huatoki stream valleys respectively, at the same time commanding the Mangorei, Carrington and Frankley Roads to inland farms. Later a decision was made to erect a fourth blockhouse at Allen's Hill on Hurford Road.

# DINGLE'S BLOCKHOUSE

Colonel Warre initially made the proposal to build, "2 or 3 Blockhouses behind the town – one where Mr Pattison was shot", on 15 March 1864 (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book). At the end of March an offer was made by Mr Burton and other settlers to build the first of these at Dingle's farm (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 29 Mar 1864). On 13 May it was reported that the tender of Messrs Burton and Kelly for the erection of three blockhouses was successful and that Dingle's is in the course of construction, to be completed about 20 May (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book).

A ditch was dug around the blockhouse, "in the same manner as that at the Omata Stockade" (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 4 Apr 1864). The building itself appears not to have been entirely satisfactory, however, and on 2 June Warre wrote in his diary,

"After disposing of the office business I rode out with Capt Mace to Dingles to see the new Blockhouse which is nearly completed & looks well altho it is not bullet proof & it is very difficult to make it so.—being already overweighted with 4 inch lining through which the ball penetrates with difficulty."

Dingle's Blockhouse was held for about 18 months. On 31 May 1865 these comprised



Fig. 26. "Dingles Blockhouse Taranaki". (H.J. Warre, Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia).

eight men of the old Taranaki Militia (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64), who were struck off pay on 30 June and replaced by three Military Settlers (AD6/4, 65/4120). The post was abandoned early in January 1866 and handed over to Mr Dingle, the land–owner (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book, 6 Jan 1866). Three years later the building was in disrepair (AD35/12).

The sketch by Colonel Warre (Fig. 26) shows a two–storeyed building with upper floors overhanging the lower. This picture is unclear on loopholing except on one side, but the post was probably loopholed all around on both floors like Puketotara and Ratanui. A bridge crosses the ditch to a door. With the Warre sketch is a brief description including the remark that the, "...upper story projects over the lower to enable the defenders by opening small trap doors to fire into the ditch."

Dingle's Blockhouse was on a knoll now cut by Frankley Road 100 m south of the corner with Patterson Road (where a cairn marks the place Pattison/ Patterson was killed). The site is in good condition except for the west side which has been shaved off by road works (Fig. 27). A now shallow ditch surrounds a platform ca 14 x 10 m (Fig. 28). There is a discrepancy between the building pictured by Warre and the larger structure suggested by the field evidence.

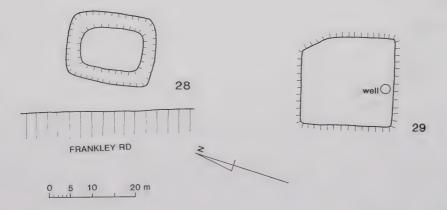
# **RATANUI BLOCKHOUSE**

On 18 July 1864 Lieutenant Clarke, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General at New Plymouth, wrote to Messrs Burton and Kelly on behalf of Colonel Warre urging them to hurry and complete work on the Ratanui Blockhouse (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book). Approval for payment of the contractors' account was given on 12 September (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book). Ratanui Blockhouse is sometimes called 'French's Redoubt' after the owner of the land at the time (as in Taranaki Military Settlers Defaulters Book, 10 Dec 1864).

Like the other blockhouses Ratanui was occupied only by local forces, in April 1865 men of Captain Messenger's Number 6 Company, T.M.S. (*Taranaki Herald* 8 Apr 1865). By 31



Fig. 27. Aerial view of the Dingle's Blockhouse site, 1975, now cut by Frankley Road.



Figs 28-29. Archaeological field evidence. 28. Dingle's Blockhouse. 29. Ratanui Blockhouse.



Fig. 30. "Ratanui Blockhouse Nov 9 [1864]". (H.J. Warre Sketchbook, p. 33, Alexander Turnbull Library).

May it was held by five men of the old Taranaki Militia (AJHR 1865 A–5:63– 64), in turn struck off pay and relieved by three Military Settlers on 30 June (AD 6/4, 65/4120). The post was probably given up with the increased security of the district about the time Dingle's Blockhouse was abandoned. In 1869 the blockhouse was reported "out of order" (AD35/12).

A pencil sketch by Colonel Warre shows a two-storey loopholed blockhouse, like Dingle's except that it is enclosed by an earth breastwork (Fig. 30). A shed can be seen outside the fortification. The Warre sketch enables us to locate the site. The view is from the rise on which the present Ratanui homestead stands off Carrington Road. The road can be seen running across the picture.

The site is behind a farmhouse, 50 m east of Carrington Road and 200 m on the town side of the Atkinson Road corner. Surface evidence may have been damaged by later buildings on the site. A *ca* 20 x 20 m platform sits slightly above the gentle natural slope (Fig. 29). A well, said to be 120 feet deep, is covered by the concrete base of a water trough just inside the northern edge of the platform. The site is well situated to command a wide view of the Henui River valley.

# PUKETOTARA BLOCKHOUSE

Puketotara was the third blockhouse built in 1864 to secure rural districts inland of New Plymouth. Like the others it was garrisoned by local forces; if indeed it was occupied by European forces at all, in December 1864 it was held by "friendly natives" (NP Garrison Office Letter Book, 2 Dec 1864). There was no garrison in May 1865 (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64). In 1869 the building was reported in "very bad order" (AD35/12). A drawing by Colonel Warre shows Puketotara to be the same design as Dingle's and Ratanui but without earthwork defence (Fig. 31). The Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, holds watercolours by Warre of Ratanui and Puketotara, worked up from his pencil sketches.



Fig. 31. "Puketotara Nov 18th [1864]". (H.J. Warre Sketchbook, p. 51, Alexander Turnbull Library).

The blockhouse was built near or on the site of Puketotara pa, destroyed by troops in September 1860 (see Prickett 1994a:44–45). This was on a terrace edge overlooking the Waiwakaiho River, across Mangorei Road from the junction with Karina Road. A house has been built on the site in recent years and no surface evidence remains. Earthworks which may relate to the blockhouse, or even the earlier pa, can be made out on aerial photograph 1786/10, taken in August 1950.

#### ALLEN'S HILL BLOCKHOUSE

Allen's Hill Blockhouse also relates to the autumn 1864 decision to secure the old farming districts behind New Plymouth. At first only three blockhouses were planned, but a fourth was soon after placed on Allen's Hill at the corner of Hurford Road and the new main road south which took the high ground around the head of Waireka Stream.

In July 1864 one officer and 25 men of the Military Settlers were posted to the new blockhouse from Fort Robert (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 18 Jul 1864). Allen's Hill was occupied on 31 May 1865 by ten T.M.S. (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64). It is not known when it was abandoned. The building, with accommodation for 25 men, was still standing in 1869 (AD35/12).

Allen's Hill is at the junction of Hurford and South Roads. The blockhouse was on top of the hill now deeply cut by the main road. In the 1869 Colonial Defence Office report (AD35/12) Allen's Hill Blockhouse is described in the same terms as Ratanui and Puketotara, and thus is likely to have been a two-storey building, with rifle slits all round, the upper level overhanging the lower. A watercolour by Colonel Warre in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, gives a distant view of the Allen's Hill post beyond the Omata Stockade. No surface evidence remains.

#### POUTOKO BLOCKHOUSE

Poutoko Blockhouse was put up some time between July and October 1864, replacing St Patrick's Redoubt as the fortified post in the locality. It dates from after the four posts introduced above, but like them secured the old New Plymouth farming districts at a time when active campaigning moved away to the north and south. On 16 October the officer commanding at Poutoko was ordered to pull down the right front face (nearest the road) of St Patrick's Redoubt which was recently vacated by military settlers (NP Garrison Office Letter Book).

In April 1865 Poutoko was held by men of Captain Percival's No. 7 Company, T.M.S. (*Taranaki Herald* 8 Apr 1865), on May 31 numbering one sergeant and 19 rank and file (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64). Except for one corporal and four privates these men were struck off pay on 17 June to take up confiscated land in the vicinity, parading monthly at the blockhouse for an inspection of arms (AD6/4, 65/4118). Poutoko was still occupied as late as March 1866 (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book, 3 Mar 1866). It is unclear when it was finally abandoned.

The 1869 the Colonial Defence Office reported a "...large hole burnt in floor, stockade out of repair, 13 panes of glass broken" (AD35/12). The report describes a "Blockhouse and Redoubt", with accommodation for 35 men, plus an officer's and store room. Nonetheless, it is unlikely the post had any earthwork defence; it was probably a single–storey building within a stockade, like Mataitawa Blockhouse (Fig. 40).

Evidence of the location of Poutoko Blockhouse is to be found on a "Plan shewing the surveyed lands within the Province of Taranaki", signed by Octavious Carrington and dated 9 December 1865, held in the Department of Survey and Land Information head office, Wellington. The post is shown just west of the main South Road, 250 m south of the present Waireka Road corner, presumably on the commanding rise here. The map reference is *ca* 584867. I have not found any archaeological evidence.

# TO TE AREI AND MATAITAWA

In spring 1864 European military authorities moved to expel Maori from the forest edge inland of Mahoetahi and Sentry Hill. The area was a refuge for people who had fled Waitara at the start of the First Taranaki War, and it was at the northern end of the Whakaahurangi track by which Te Atiawa and other tribes fighting in the districts about New Plymouth received assistance from south Taranaki. Te Arei, which was attacked in 1861, had been reoccupied and strengthened, and a fortified pa by the name of Manutahi was at the south end of today's township of Lepperton. Undefended settlements and gardens of maize, potatoes and kumara were scattered among forest clearings.

Early in October Colonel Warre led British troops and local forces into the area. Positions were established at Te Arei, Mataitawa, Manutahi and Matakara (Fig. 32), and also at the old No 6 Redoubt at Huirangi (see Prickett 1994a:72–73). A key post was at Mataitawa where Whakaahurangi track came out of the bush, and where there had been a lightly defended Maori settlement at the edge of high ground overlooking a wide area to the north. Following the military advance the European farming frontier was pushed on to the Waitara River as soldier settlers took up land and townships were laid out at Mataitawa, Manutahi (Lepperton), Huirangi and Manganui.

European forces first advanced from Mahoetahi.

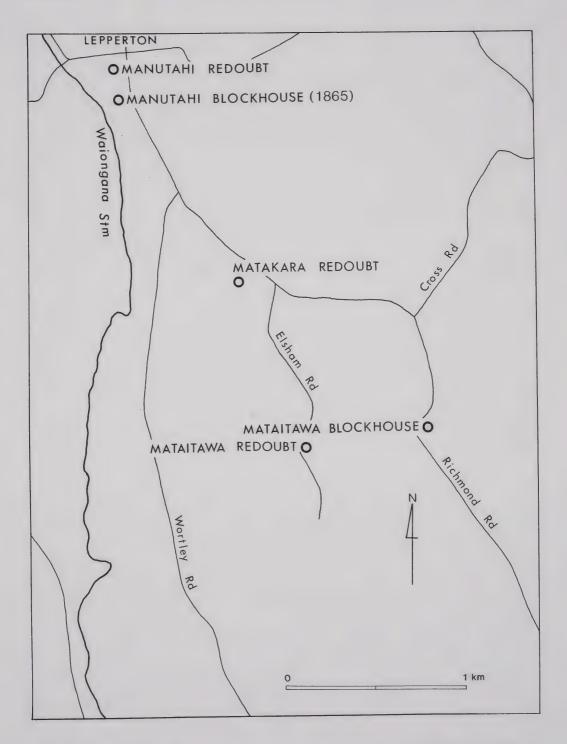


Fig. 32. The Lepperton district showing location of 1864–65 military posts in relation to modern roads.

"... early on Saturday morning, 8th inst., a force consisting of 200 of the 70th under Major Ryan, two field guns in charge of Capt. Martin, R.A., Capt. Good's, and Capt. Jonas' companies of Bushrangers 100 in all under Major Atkinson, and Captain Maces' mounted men, started northward... at Mahoetahi they were joined by 150 more of the 70th under Major Saltmarsh – the whole under command of Col. Warre, C.B., who was attended by his staff and also by Col. Lepper and Mr. Parris."

# Taranaki Herald 15 Oct 1864

Except for a few shots fired from Mataitawa the Maori settlements were not defended and their inhabitants retired into the bush to the south (GBPP 1865 [3425]:168–171). Colonel Warre's force then pulled back, but returned a few days later to effect a permanent occupation.

A letter from Colonel Warre to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, dated 20 October 1864, details the garrisons at all posts north of New Plymouth at this time.

		F.O.	Officers	Sergt	R & F
Te Arei	70th Regt		6	10	164
No 6 Redoubt	My Settlers		3	4	100
Mahoetahi	do		1	1	24
do	70th Regt		1	1	25
Sentry Hill	Mily Settlers		2	3	57
Manutahi	do		5	8	150
Mangakara	Bushrangers	1	6	8	105
Mataitawa	70th Regt	1	8	12	208
Total		2	32	47	833
			(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book)		

#### TE AREI REDOUBT

Te Arei was taken on 11 October 1864, three days after the operation at Manutahi and Mataitawa, but the redoubt there was the first established in the area – to control enemy movement according to Colonel Warre (Journal, 10 Oct 1864). At the same No 6 Redoubt at Huirangi, dating originally from 1861, was reoccupied to maintain communication with Te Arei.

"On Tuesday morning, at daybreak, another expedition started from Mahoetahi, where it had camped the night before, to take Te Arei, Hapurona's stronghold. It consisted of 350 men of the 70th, under Majors Rutherford and Saltmarshe and Captains Backhouse and Ralston, a detachment of Artillery under Captain Martin, Captain Mace's mounted men, and about 100 friendly natives – the whole under the command of Colonel Warre."

(Taranaki Herald 15 Oct 1964)

Te Arei was taken without a shot being fired, the occupants retiring into the bush to the south. Some troops went on to destroy Te Peketu and Pukemahoe, two small villages in the bush beyond Te Arei.

"After burning the whares and picking up the few unconsidered trifles that were to be found the force returned to Te Arei where a large redoubt was already in course of construction. This is now occupied we believe by 150 of the 70th under Major Rutherford; and to keep open the communication, No. 6 Redoubt has been occupied by Captain Page's company of Military Settlers."

#### (Taranaki Herald 15 Oct 1864)

In the Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, are two watercolours of Te Arei by Colonel Warre. One shows troops making use of General Pratt's 1861 sap and No. 8 Redoubt in their approach on the pa ("Rebel (Natives) pa, Te Arei", NK 4263/12). The other depicts the outworks of the pa ("Rebel Pah at Te Arei", NK 4263/13). In the Alexander Turnbull Library Warre sketchbook is another picture of the Maori works, and the inscription: "Unlike ordinary Pahs the Rebels had constructed a formidable parapet in front (about 40 yards) of the stockade – connecting the two works by covered ways about 3 feet deep..."

Construction of Te Arei Redoubt was overseen by Lieutenant Ferguson (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 12 Oct 1864). On 20 October Colonel Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, that, "the Redoubt at Te Arei is nearly completed, and I believe 100 men would hold it against any number of Natives" (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book). In the same report the garrison is given as six officers, ten sergeants and 164 men, 70th Regiment.

At the end of November the redoubt was held by 150 men under Captain Ralston (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 29 Oct 1864), and at the end of February 1865 it was still occupied by 170 men, now under the command of Major Saltmarshe (*Taranaki Herald* 4 Mar 1865). On 1 July that year the garrison was down to 113 (WO 0270.II:434). Following the departure of the 70th from Taranaki the 43rd Light Infantry occupied Te Arei, in their turn being relieved on 21 December 1865 by the 68th (NP Garrison Order Book, 19 Dec 1865).

On 13 February 1866 Military Settlers took over from the 68th (NP Garrison Order Book, 12 Feb 1866). Ten days later one corporal and four privates from No. 5 Company, T.M.S., took over from the initial detachment under Captain Jonas (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book, 23 Feb 1866). As late as February 1867 Military Settlers under Major Baddeley were stationed at Te Arei (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book, 13 Feb 1867), which was probably abandoned soon after. In 1869 a blockhouse was built on the edge of the escarpment a few metres to the west (Prickett 1981:221–223).

A pencil sketch of the redoubt shows the main gate on the northern (rear) face, close to the north–west angle (Fig. 33). Beyond is Tikorangi Redoubt which was thrown up in November 1865 north of Waitara River (see Prickett 1981:195–203). The sketch dates from late January 1866, like the sketch of Mataitawa (Fig. 35) by the same unknown artist.

Te Arei Redoubt is situated in Pukerangiora Historic Reserve on Te Arei Road. The surveyor's fieldbook sketch plan and blocksheet (Waitara IX (47/11) Blocksheet; Fieldbook W.1, p. 17, DOSLI, New Plymouth) show flanking defence covering the north and south sides only. Not shown is the bastion at the north–west angle which covers the west face, for which there is clear archaeological evidence.

The redoubt is  $ca 30-35 \ge 53-66$  m in size (Fig. 34). The cliff to the Waitara River makes up the east side. Earthworks of the two long sides are in good condition, while the third side (closest to Te Arei Road) has suffered considerable damage. Probably the defences on this face were thrown down in 1869 to allow the nearby blockhouse garrison command of the otherwise dangerous defensive position close by. Flanking defence also survives 2 m lower than the main redoubt level at the north–west angle.



Fig. 33. "The Redoubt of Te Arei, Taranaki, Captn Jonas' Station beyond". (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington). Captain Jonas' post at top left was Tikorangi Redoubt, established June 1865 on high ground north of Waitara River (Prickett 1981:195–203).

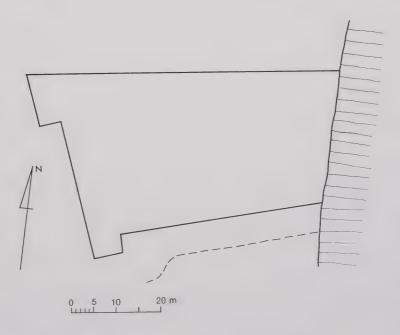


Fig. 34. Plan of Te Arei Redoubt.

### NO 6 (HUIRANGI) REDOUBT

No 6 Redoubt at Huirangi, first thrown up during General Pratt's advance on Maori positions south of the Waitara River in early 1861, was reoccupied in 1864 when troops returned to Te Arei. At first Captain Page's company of Military Settlers took over the post (*Taranaki Herald* 15 Oct 1864), but they were soon replaced by regulars of the 70th Regiment. On 6 February 1865 30 men of the 70th were withdrawn from Huirangi, now held by a day piquet from Te Arei (*Taranaki Herald* 11 Feb 1865). At the end of the month Captain Corbett's company of Military Settlers was at the post (*Taranaki Herald* 25 Feb 1865), but only a month later Huirangi was again given up (*Taranaki Herald* 25 Mar 1865).

Later in 1865 a garrison returned to the position, from now on called Huirangi (initially 'Hurangi' or 'Huarangi') rather than No 6 Redoubt. In November four military settlers and a corporal were in residence, and preparations were in hand for construction of a blockhouse which was within the old redoubt or nearby (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 13 Nov 1865). The blockhouse allowed a more economical garrison and provided a muster station for military settlers in the district at the Huirangi town site. On 25 September 1866 the remaining men on wages at the post were ordered to lock up the blockhouse and report to New Plymouth en route for Patea (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 26 Sep 1866).

From then on Huirangi Blockhouse was used only by local militia for muster parades, until the crisis of February 1869 when Captain Messenger held the post for a few weeks before it was abandoned for the last time (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 4 Mar 1869). An 1869 report describes the post, with one officers' room and accommodation for 25 men, as being in "good order" (AD35/12). A site description and aerial photograph have been published in my report on fortifications of the 1860–61 war (Prickett 1994a:73).

# MATAITAWA REDOUBT

On 17 October Colonel Warre was back at Mataitawa to set up a permanent post.

"On Monday last a redoubt was begun at Mataitawa, which is now occupied by 200 of the 70th, under Major Ryan. Captain Morrison's and Captain Messenger's companies hold Manutahi, and the Bushrangers are encamped at Matakaraha, on the other side of the bush behind Manutahi, where they have begun cutting the under bush preparatory to felling." (*Taranaki Herald* 22 Oct 1864)

At the end of November troop numbers at Mataitawa were down to 150, still under the command of Major Ryan (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 29 Nov 1864). Early in 1865 the troops were replaced by 150 Taranaki Military Settlers under Major Baddeley (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 11 Jan 1865). In February these were reduced to 100 rank and file (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 19 Feb 1865), and on 31 May the garrison was made up of five Royal Artillery, one Royal Engineer, two subalterns, three sergeants and 78 rank and file, T.M.S., and three Taranaki Militia (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64).

On 4 January 1866 Lieutenant Colonel Morant of the 68th was ordered to Mataitawa the next day with a detachment of that regiment "as strong as possible" (NP Garrison Order Book). This move was to support General Chute who arrived at the post on the 25th at the conclusion of his march from south Taranaki along the inland track (see Anon 1866; and Cowan 1922–23 II:64–67). The 68th quit Mataitawa for New Plymouth on 13 February, embarking for Auckland on the same day (NP Garrison Order Book, 12 Feb 1866). Local forces then returned



Fig. 35. "Mataitawa Redoubt, Taranaki, Jan 24 1866". (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

as garrison. It is likely the post was finally abandoned when Ensign Morrison and his men were ordered to town en route for Patea in September 1866 (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Bok, 26 Sep 1866).

Figure 35 is dated 24 January 1866, and so depicts Mataitawa Redoubt the day before Chute's force emerged from the bush nearby. The anonymous artist shows the post from the north on top of the escarpment with tents, huts and some men and horses visible. The road up the hill, which follows the spur rather than the present line of Elsham Road, can be seen on the left.

Mataitawa Redoubt is close to Elsham Road at the top of the hill which rises from Richmond Road (Fig. 36). The 43 m square work with 6 x 6 m flanking defence on all four corners is easily made out in a ploughed paddock despite damage (Fig. 37). The old access road can be seen running up the spur to the north–east angle. Other lines mark later cultivation.

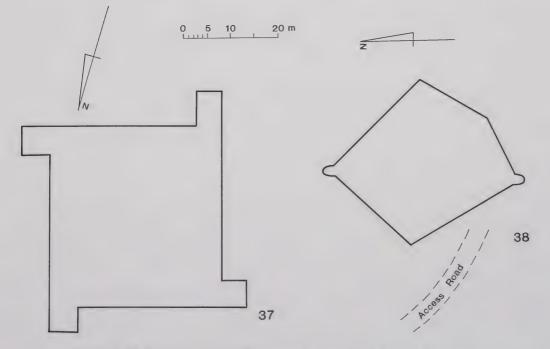
# MANUTAHI REDOUBT

Manutahi Redoubt also dates from 17 October 1864. It was established and first garrisoned by two companies of Taranaki Military Settlers under Captains Morrison and Messenger (*Taranaki Herald* 22 Oct 1864), on 20 October numbering five officers, eight sergeants and 150 men (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 20 Oct 1864). Early in 1865 the garrison was down to 75 men (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 11 Jan 1865), and on 19 February was further reduced to "not less than" 50 rank and file (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 19 Feb 1865). On 31 May 1865 Manutahi was held by two subalterns, three sergeants, one drummer and 54 men, T.M.S. (AJHR 1865 A–5:63–64).

A letter from Lieutenant Clarke, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General in New Plymouth, to Lieutenant Ferguson, R.E., refers to an addition to the redoubt a few days after it was first put up.



Fig. 36. Mataitawa Redoubt, 1975.



Figs 37-38. Redoubt plans. 37. Mataitawa Redoubt. 38. Matakara Redoubt.

"The Redoubt at Manutahi being too small for the number of men intended to occupy that Post I am directed to request you will increase it by adding to the present redoubt a large square flank, so as to admit of the whole of the Tents being with the Parapet." (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 28 Oct 1864)

It seems likely a stockade was added early in 1865 (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book. 8 Dec 1864). Early in 1865 a blockhouse was built close by; later references are to this and not to the 1864 redoubt. Lieutenant Ferguson placed the blockhouse: "...about 50 yards South of the redoubt, keeping the top of the gentle rise which runs from the redoubt towards the old Maori works" (AD1, 65/17).

The "Redoubt" and "Block House on Old Pa" are marked on a 1906 plan "Township of Lepperton/Paritutu Survey District", and on the survey blocksheet (Paritutu VII; the field plan is in Fieldbook W.3, p. 50, DOSLI, New Plymouth). Both were just off Richmond Road in Lepperton. The redoubt was *ca* 100 m north–west of the store. The blockhouse was 150–200 m south of the redoubt, behind Lepperton School. No evidence has been found at either site. Lepperton is one of two surviving townships laid out in the 1860s for the Taranaki Military Settlers; the other is Okato south of New Plymouth.

# MATAKARA REDOUBT

Matakara Redoubt was third post established in the district on 17 October 1864. In contemporary accounts alternative spellings are Mangakara, Matakaraha, Mataikara and even Mataraka. Matakara was located, "... on the other side of the bush behind Manutahi" (*Taranaki Herald* 22 Oct 1864), to secure communication between Manutahi and Mataitawa and to act as a base for working parties cutting down the bush between those two posts. At first it was held by Bushrangers under the command of Major Atkinson, the garrison on 20 October being one field officer, 6 officers, 8 sergeants and 105 rank and file (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book).

On 8 December 1864 orders were given for the construction of a stockade: "... required to accommodate an officer and 30 Rank and File with a Store Room and magazine" (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book). There were probably no permanent buildings at the post (AD31/24). By January 1865 the Bushrangers had been replaced by a company of Military Settlers (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 11 Jan 1865,) under Captain Carthew (*Taranaki Herald* 25 Feb 1865). Next month the garrison was down to 50 rank and file, T.M.S. (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 19 Feb 1865). On 15 July 1865 orders were given for the post to abandoned (AD31/24).

The remains of Matakara Redoubt are 50 m west of Richmond Road, on a low rise between the high ground – and Mataitawa Redoubt – to the south, and the Waiongana Stream – and Manutahi – to the north (Fig. 39). The 35 x 35 m fort has an unusual plan with small bastions at two angles covering four sides of a five– sided work (Fig. 38). Outside, below the entrance gateway, is typical field evidence for a small group of soldiers' huts dug into the hillside. The site has been damaged by cultivation.

### MATAITAWA BLOCKHOUSE

Mataitawa Blockhouse dates from soon after the establishment of Mataitawa Redoubt. Colonel Warre gives the reason for the new post in a letter dated 19 November 1864.



Fig. 39. Matakara Redoubt, 1975.

"...in order to cover the whole of the immediate vicinity of Mataitawa, it would be necessary to have a Blockhouse at Wharuanga, about 1/2 a mile to the east of Mataitawa, across a deep gully, the country between Wharuanga & Pukerangiora (Te Arei) being more or less under cultivation, and yet completely concealed by the ridge on which Wharuanga is situated, from the proposed stockade at Mataitawa."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book)

The blockhouse was built early in 1865. For some time the redoubt and blockhouse were both in use (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book, 4 Oct 1865). The new post was occupied only by local forces. When the redoubt was abandoned in September 1866 the blockhouse remained in occupation as Military Settlers became established on their land.

On 26 September 1866 Private Dowdell, apparently the only occupant, was ordered to lock up Mataitawa Blockhouse and proceed to town en route for Patea (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 26 Sep 1866). The post was again occupied in October but closed up in February 1867 (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 13 Feb 1867). On 21 December 1868 Armed Constabulary and Militia under Captain Kelly were ordered to Mataitawa, to "...put the Blockhouse and ditch at that place and Manutahi in a thorough state of defence" (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Order Book).

Mataitawa Blockhouse was reoccupied by a sergeant and six men of the Bushrangers on 15 February 1869 in response to the White Cliffs scare (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Order Book). The next day Ensign Johnson was sent to the post with orders to make up the number to 25 men from the settlers of the district (Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book, 16 Feb 1869). Thereafter the garrison at Mataitawa and other posts was steadily reduced. In District Orders, 9 October 1869:

"R.W. Ardlie is appointed Lance Corporal and will be obeyed accordingly, and will take

charge of Mataitawa Block House and visit Manutahi and Sentry Hill Post, at uncertain times, and see that no poultry, calves &cs are kept in the Blockhouse or enclosure and report occasionally as to the state they are kept in..."

(Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Order Book)

The remaining men at Mataitawa were struck off pay on 21 December 1869 (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Order Book, 20 Dec 1869).

Mataitawa Blockhouse was at the old military settlers' Mataitawa town site on Richmond Road. The location is given on the Paritutu VII Blocksheet (DOSLI, New Plymouth; the original field sketch is in Fieldbook W.1, p. 42). The site was formerly occupied by a Maori kainga called Waruanga (WO 0270.I: opp. p. 132). Other spellings are Wharuanga and Waruhanga. A surveyor's fieldbook gives a plan of "Te Waruhanga BlockHouse" with measurements given in links, and a sketch of the work (Figs 40 and 41). The post was made up of two buildings with a narrow yard between, enclosed by a rectangular stockade 15.5 x 14.9 m. At two opposite corners 2 x 3 m flanking angles covered all four sides.

The site survives as an earth platform  $4 \times 6.5$  m surrounded by a shallow ditch, 50 m south of Richmond Road, 500 m south of the junction with Cross Road (Fig. 32). Flanking defence is just discernible. The site has suffered greatly from cultivation over the years.

# RETURN TO TATARAIMAKA

Having pushed the northern frontier to the forest edge and Waitara River, European military authorities now returned their attention southwards. By the winter of 1864 farm land behind New Plymouth was secured by blockhouses, and the southern frontier was held from Oakura to Kaitake. The next move was re–occupation of Tataraimaka, begun by the return to St George's Redoubt on 24 November 1864 (described above), and the establishment of the nearby Timaru Redoubt the following day.

Early in 1865 a blockhouse was built at the inland end of the Tataraimaka Block, and British troops pushed on to the north bank of Hangatahua (Stoney) River preparatory to military settlers taking up confiscated land in the Okato district. The story of these posts falls outside the years covered here.



Figs 40–41. Mataitawa Blockhouse. 40. Redrawn from a sketch by S.P. Smith in Fieldbook W1, DOSLI, New Plymouth. 41. Plan redrawn from Smith fieldbook. Measurements in links (1 link = 7.92 inches).

### TIMARU REDOUBT

Timaru Redoubt was thrown up on the north bank of the Timaru River on 25 November 1864. Colonel Warre wrote in his diary,

"...after seeing the Camp pitched [at St George's Redoubt] & giving Major Colvile his instructions I returned with Clarke – Ferguson &c to Huirangi where I pointed out to Capt McKellar the site for his Redoubt & directed his Company to move there tomorrow." (Journal, 24 Nov 1864)

Warre's "Huirangi" was actually Hauranga, a Maori settlement situated below the redoubt site on the present sand dune area at the mouth of the river. Hauranga was occupied by Maori throughout the early 1860s, and was described in 1864 as "Meiha or Big Jack's pa". There is a pencil sketch of the palisaded settlement on page 39 in the Warre sketchbook, Alexander Turnbull Library. Taranaki Museum holds a watercolour by the same artist. Colonel Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, that,

"A Company of the Military Settlers (Otago Contingent) under command of Captain McKeller, T.M.S., has also occupied ground on the right bank of the Timaru River which post secures safe communication between Oakura & Tataraimaka."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 28 Nov 1864)

Captain McKellar's company was made up of two subalterns, four sergeants, one drummer and 81 rank and file. The redoubt was occupied throughout by Captain McKellar's company.

The temporary nature of the post is shown in a letter from Lieutenant Clarke, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, New Plymouth, to Lieutenant Colonel Lepper, commanding local forces:

"...I am advised to inform you, that, as the Post at the Timaru River will probably be abandoned as soon as the troops move forward to the Stony River (Hangatahua), Colonel Warre considers it to be hardly worth while digging a well."

(NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 16 Jan 1865)

In the event Timaru was abandoned when its garrison took up land at Tuahukino, near Oakura (NP Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book, 18 Apr 1865).

Timaru Redoubt was on the coastal terrace east of the Timaru River mouth. Today's Weld Road runs through the centre of the work at the point where the gravel road begins. Earthworks can be seen on both sides of the road (Fig. 42). The redoubt is of classic plan, *ca* 24 m square, with 8 x 5 m flanking defence on two corners covering all four sides (Fig. 43). The ditch is in good condition under macrocarpa trees east of the road and in one paddock on the other side, but the north-west sector has been damaged by cultivation. Flanking defence at the north-west angle is distinct despite damage and we may be confident that it is matched at the opposite angle where it disappears under a boxthorn hedge.



Fig. 42. Timaru Redoubt, 1975.

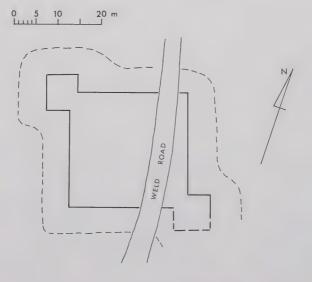


Fig. 43. Plan of Timaru Redoubt.

# THE BRITISH WAR IN TARANAKI

# THE FORTIFICATIONS

British Army and colonial fortifications in New Zealand fall into three groups: earthwork redoubts, and wooden stockades and blockhouses (all described in Prickett 1994b). Of the 20 north Taranaki works described here ten were redoubts only, three had a combination of earthwork and stockade defence, three or more were blockhouses only, and the rest employed various combinations of blockhouse and stockade defence.

Earthwork redoubts were St Patrick's, St George's and St Andrew's, Pahitere, Kaitake, Te Arei, Mataitawa, Manutahi, Matakara and Timaru. Manutahi and Matakara were altered to incorporate some stockading a few months after first being established as earthwork fortifications.

The works thrown up at Poutoko, Tataraimaka and Oakura in the first autumn of renewed fighting in Taranaki were all of the so-called 'New Zealand redoubt' form (Young 1869), with flanking defence at all four corners each covering one side. Mataitawa Redoubt is another example, as is Te Arei if we overlook the east face which makes use of the cliff to the Waitara River.

The 'New Zealand redoubt' was not used in the Taranaki war of 1860–61. The trace was adopted from the outset of renewed fighting of 1863, however, and was widely used in the years following to be given its epithet by Captain H.W. Young at the end of the decade. The question must be asked, where and how the form was developed. It is possible that credit is due to the much criticised Royal Engineer Lieutenant Ferguson, who laid out St Patrick's Redoubt at the outset of the campaign. St George's Redoubt, on the other hand, was the responsibility of Major Frederick Mould who was engineer in charge of many works in the First Taranaki War where the 'New Zealand redoubt' did not appear. It does seem likely therefore that there was some general discussion of suitable works for New Zealand campaigning in the years before fighting flared up again, and that the new trace was a result.

Young in fact criticised the trace because the outer faces of corner bastions were not covered, and because it did not allow a concentration of fire on a point under attack. An advantage was that its simplicity made it easy to lay out. Also, having three angles at each corner made for greater strength than was the case at corners with five angles, required by works which defended four sides from just two corners (as at Timaru Redoubt). A trace which allowed concentrated fire on a point under attack was really designed for works which might be breached by artillery, which was not the case in New Zealand.

Timaru Redoubt marked a return to the classic form of rectangular trace with all four sides defended from just two corners. This form was used at Waireka in winter 1860 (Prickett 1994a:41–53), and also continued in use to the end of the decade, in later years employed mostly with loopholed blockhouses at the bastions (as at Manaia, Prickett 1994b:15–16).

The shape of other 1863–64 Taranaki redoubts depended on the circumstances of topography. At Pahitere a rectangular platform was developed from the earthworks of an older pa. This was also so at Kaitake, although here nothing remains of the older work beneath the European work. The trace at Kaitake also depended upon the narrow ridge on which the work was placed. The five– sided trace of Matakara Redoubt probably shows the later stockade defences; certainly, the bastions at the north and south angles are too small to have been formed by earthwork parapets.

Sentry Hill Redoubt was a simple rectangle. Like the earthwork at nearby Mahoetahi it had the advantage of commanding height from the top of a volcanic lahar. The irregular

Mahoetahi work depended entirely on the cut down shape of the hill (and old pa). Sentry Hill and Mahoetahi employed complementary earthworks and nearby stockades, partly for flanking defence and partly to house larger garrisons than were originally intended.

The earthwork defence at Fort Robert included a stockade for part of its perimeter. This also appears to have been the case at St George's Redoubt. Here it may have been for defence against the weather as much as anything else – as at the 1865 Warea Redoubt further down the coast, where excavations revealed a line of large posts immediately within the seaward parapet (Prickett 1994b:100, 103). How much Manutahi and Matakara redoubts were altered to stockades is not known. Kaitake Redoubt may have employed stockade defence along its short uphill side.

Stockades include 'Lower Kaitake Blockhouse', 'Poutoko Blockhouse' and 'Mataitawa Blockhouse', all consisting of barrack buildings within a stockade defence, as well as the independently defensible works at Mahoetahi and Sentry Hill. As has been pointed out Manutahi and Matakara were given some stockade defence after being first set up as redoubts. There was partial stockade defence also at Fort Robert and St George's Redoubt, Tataraimaka.

Stockades at Mahoetahi and Sentry Hill were rectangular partially flanked works. Sentry Hill appears to have had small towers at two angles for flanking defence (Fig. 20). Inside the work at Mahoetahi were one or two barrack buildings. At Mataitawa Blockhouse there were also barrack building inside, presumably loopholed for defensive fire through the stockade which fitted against the barrack walls. The barracks used here, and throughout the 1860s campaigns, were of similar construction to those shown in the Nicholl photographs of St Andrew's, Pahitere and Kaitake. Poutoko and Lower Kaitake Blockhouse were probably of this form of 'blockhouse' enclosed within a defensive stockade. Allen's Hill may have been as well.

Blockhouses in the so-called 'New England style' (Prickett 1994b:15) were put up to secure European farmland behind New Plymouth in early 1864. These were square buildings of two storeys with upper floor overhanging the lower. Small garrisons could be quickly relieved by troops from town. Defensive arrangements are supplemented by what looks like an earth parapet at Ratanui (Fig. 30), and a ditch with drawbridge at Dingle's Blockhouse (Fig. 26). Only Puketotara depends on the blockhouse alone (Fig. 31).

## THE STRATEGY OF OCCUPATION

The 20 works described here were put up by British Army and colonial forces in the opening phases of a prolonged struggle for control of north Taranaki. The fighting which began in autumn 1863 continued until early 1866 when final skirmishes took place in forest country south of Stoney River. In 1869 the armed struggle was renewed at Pukearuhe where Maori from north of Parininihi (White Cliffs) killed all of a small remaining garrison, and provoked a considerable European military response north of Waitara River. A decade later Armed Constabulary and militia advanced on Parihaka to destroy the remaining independent Maori authority in the province.

The Second Taranaki War of 1863–66 and campaigns which followed may be distinguished from the war of 1860–61 by the manner and success of European strategy. In the first war there was no way by which European forces, or indeed, Maori, might translate success in the field into the achievement of political objectives. The New Zealand Settlements Act brought about a radical change. The way was open for land belonging to 'rebel' tribes to be confiscated and settled by European farmers, thus gaining the political objective of more land and at the same time denying Maori the resources to continue fighting.

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Military settlers began arriving in Taranaki even before parliament enacted the legislation that was to give them confiscated land. In October 1863 men who had been recruited in Otago were posted to Fort Robert with a view, at least partly, of commencing cultivation. Ironically this was on land in the possession of Ropata Ngarongomate of Poutoko who was a staunch ally of the Pakeha. From 1864 confiscation became more systematic with companies of military settlers placed on surveyed land which was balloted out according to rank.

War began in autumn 1863 ostensibly with the limited aim of recovering the Tataraimaka Block lost to Maori forces in 1860. St Patrick's and St George's Redoubts were both located on European land. Only after the ambush of troops on Oakura Beach was Andrew's Redoubt placed on Maori land to secure the road south. The withdrawal from Tataraimaka in winter 1863 was a temporary setback, brought about by the removal of troops to Auckland for the Waikato war. From early 1864 European campaigning in north Taranaki was aimed at progressively excluding Maori fighting strength from the district.

After Waitara and Mahoetahi were abandoned in May 1863 Bell Block Stockade (Prickett 1994a:10–13) was the only European post north of New Plymouth until the advance on Sentry Hill in February 1864. Strong garrisons at Mahoetahi and Sentry Hill gave security to abandoned European farmland in the Bell Block district and put pressure on inland Maori settlements. The significance of the move to Maori is demonstrated by the assault on Sentry Hill Redoubt on 30 April where as many as 50 attackers were killed.

Military authorities now turned their attention south of New Plymouth. Two weeks after the move to Sentry Hill, St Andrew's Redoubt was reoccupied and Pahitere Redoubt established nearby for military settlers. The objective was eviction of the enemy from positions in the Kaitake Ranges which posed a threat to European farmland behind New Plymouth. This was achieved by the end of March 1864. The military frontier between Oakura and Kaitake Redoubt greatly eased the security situation in the neighbourhood of New Plymouth. Blockhouses encouraged farmers back to their land.

In spring the focus shifted to Manutahi and Mataitawa. The purpose here was to evict Maori who posed a threat to European forces and settlement in north Taranaki, and to block off the Whakaahurangi Track by which enemy reinforcements were able to enter the region from the south. The process of isolating the Maori struggle in north Taranaki was completed when Pukearuhe was occupied in autumn 1865 to stop off the coastal route from the north.

The last fortification covered here signals a return to the south. Timaru Redoubt was thrown up when Tataraimaka was reoccupied in November 1864. Early the next year troops marched forward to the north bank of Stoney (Hangatahua) River and a blockhouse was erected at the inland end of European land at Tataraimaka to encourage farmers back to their land. The move to Stoney River marked the limit of effective confiscation of Maori land south of New Plymouth until the Parihaka Campaign of 1880-81.

In north Taranaki the confiscation of land was effectively employed as a winning strategy in the armed struggle between Pakeha and Maori. The campaigns which extended from 1863 to early 1866 represent a systematic and coherent push out of New Plymouth to claim both victory and the land. Maori reinforcements were excluded from the region in a series of European moves in autumn, spring and autumn 1864-65, which fitted into a larger pattern of alternate advances north and south of New Plymouth.

Sometimes British troops and military settlers advanced in tandem, occupying complementary positions to enable the settlers quickly to take up their land. This can be seen at St Patrick' Redoubt and Fort Robert in 1863, in March 1864 at St Andrew's and Pahitere, also at Mataitawa and Tataraimaka later that year. As military settlers took up their farms, fortified positions at town sites gave reassurance and security. In the years after 1863 the fate of Taranaki was decided as land forcibly taken from its previous owners was transformed by European farmers. The 1880–81 campaign against Maori self–government at Parihaka was the end and logical conclusion of the process. Virtually the whole of the rich lowlands of coastal Taranaki was now in Pakeha hands. European fortifications which survive as archaeological sites tell of the course and success of the strategy of confiscation.

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APPENDIX 1. New Zealand Archaeological Association site record numbers and map references. Approximate map references are given where the location is known but archaeological evidence has not been found.

Allen's Hill Blockhouse P19/32 ca 975332 Dingle's Blockhouse P19/155 017336 Fort Robert P19/20 954336 Kaitake Redoubt P19/37 936296 Lower Kaitake Blockhouse P19/45 ca 934296 Mahoetahi Stockade Q19/118 140418 Manutahi Redoubt Q19 ca 147374 Mataitawa Blockhouse Q19/155 163354 Mataitawa Redoubt Q19/162 156353 Matakara Redoubt Q19/161 153362 No 6 (Huirangi) Redoubt Q19/147 179384 Pahitere Redoubt P19/23 940323 Poutoko Blockhouse P19 ca 969336 Puketotara Blockhouse P19/160 059359 Ratanui Blockhouse P19/161 041335 St Andrew's (Oakura) Redoubt P19/38 930325 St George's (Tataraimaka) Redoubt P19/44 869296 St Patrick's (Poutoko) Redoubt P19/19 963338 Sentry Hill Redoubt Q19/166 ca 138400 Te Arei Redoubt Q19/163 193270 Timaru Redoubt P19/43 900307